/371/

121
369

To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175
496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S /372 cont./
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./
As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR
[412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad" (1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR
[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

Serer FA32
Fulani MS11

S
SR
369
438
[234
233
465]

/380 cont./ to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

F
[233
465]
SR
[231
417]

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

S
[361]

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

S
121
369

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

S
SR
369
162

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

/389 cont./

162
463
[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

•121
114

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

PREFACE

114 THIS short study of Senegal with particular reference to France's policy of assimilation of her colonial peoples is the result of a number of visits made to Senegal since 1955. However, most of the material was gathered in the months of January, February and March of 1961 while I was in Senegal participating in a major research project sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and directed by Mr. Guy Hunter, which has resulted in his recently published *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*. I am particularly grateful 121 to Mr. Hunter for indirectly giving me the opportunity to collect material for this book, for there is a great dearth of material in English on the French-speaking states of Africa. I must also thank Mr. Philip Mason who first suggested the idea of writing such a book, which I hope will help to give some idea of the special character of the African country that was most heavily subjected to France's policy of assimilation. I also hope it will clear away some of the current misconceptions about French assimilation and its effects on Africans.

ooo Many people have helped, often unwittingly, in the creation of this book. I have acknowledged written sources in a detailed bibliography at the end of the book and I have marked with an asterisk those on which I have drawn particularly heavily. Much of my material was obtained in conversation and I am afraid it would be impossible to thank all those who have helped me in this respect. I am, however, particularly indebted to the following: M. Raymond Mauny, M. Ly Abdoulaye, M. André Hauser, M. Yves Mersadier and M. Diop Abdoulaye of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at the University of Dakar; M. Galou Fall, M. Guy Etscheverry, and M. Alain Kocher of the Ministry of Information; of the British Embassy, H. E. Mr. Adam Watson and Mr. Tim Brierley who lent

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

established. Until recent years Senegal was the only territory with an educational system in any way compatible with a policy of assimilation.

Thus, with the exception of Senegal, there evolved a mixed policy containing elements of assimilation and separation which came to be known as the policy of association. Even so, as Lord Hailey wrote in his recent *African Survey*, 'the underlying assumption remained that, on a long view, the future of the overseas territories must be one of eventual integration with France in a larger political unit'. And though assimilationist policy was never really successful on the political level, on the personal level, particularly in education where equality of black and white was so frequently demonstrated, it left deep marks. To quote Lord Hailey once again, this time from his 1939 *African Survey*, 'it is not easy to exaggerate the effect on native outlook of a system which permits Africans to sit side by side with French children and to compete with them on equal terms in examinations'.

Since assimilation was only practised in any real measure in Senegal, it is the most interesting of all the French African colonies as the one most marked by contact with the metropolitan power. This book is therefore a study of Senegal with particular reference to a special kind of race relations whereby one people, whilst accepting the fundamental equality of the other, attempts to assimilate it to its own standards in every sphere of life. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent French assimilation was successful in Senegal and why the Senegalese eventually reacted against it; the subsequent marks it was to leave on this newly independent state; the extent to which indigenous culture withstood assimilationist policy; and finally what sort of society the Senegalese, now independent of France, are trying to create for themselves.

Senegal becomes even more interesting as a present day case study. For in applying their policy of assimilation, the French Government had to remember that Senegal was the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961)·1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

121 563 [160] [369] only black African territory where there was a sizeable French community. In Dakar alone the French numbered 6,600 in 1931, 17,300 in 1948 and increased to nearly 30,000 in recent years. It is interesting to examine how the *colons* on the spot reacted to the acceptance of Africans as equals in law and political rights and finally how far assimilation, by providing a new common culture, was able to break down traditional indigenous inter-ethnic hostilities.

/157 cont./

195 369 [423] urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today [435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are [426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

● 121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

S
SR
462
162

/178 cont./ the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household. /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

S
462
162

A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

S
369
462

In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong [462] pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

121

If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation. But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

125 871

/180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

191 871 125

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading of this table:

871 191

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 37--Analyst]

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%).

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):
4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):
3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking,

lingerie, clothing	609
preparation, dyeing....	142

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

● 121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by
125 way of correction, a more complete method.
822 It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white,

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

[291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form. [it] marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

• 121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

17: Mercier --1 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/11/

There can as yet be no question of making a synthetic report on the results obtained by the various sociological investigations stricto sensu undertaken in the agglomeration of Dakar. Many domains on which we still have only very summary data remain to be explored: the sociography of groupings can only be sketched; important chapters such as the religious sociology, the sociology of leisure, etc., must be made the subject of deeper inquiries. The very broad plan of study that we elaborated at the beginning of 1952 could obviously not be wholly realized (1). The complexity of the composition, 12/

1. It was published in the Annual Report of the IFAN for 1953.

racial, ethnic, occupational, etc., of the urban center requires long and diverse investigations. On the other hand, the necessity of comparative studies in other urban centers of Senegal has very rapidly become apparent, studies which favorable circumstances permitted us to undertake as early as the end of 1953 (2). The present article will therefore be limited to a

2. In particular, the basic documentation furnished by recent censuses of the cities of Thiès and Saint-Louis has permitted there the realization of investigations by questionnaires in accordance with the sampling method. We regret that in Dakar the lack of a recent and precise census hinders us in entering upon many aspects of the demography and sociology of this town. And we hope that it may soon be realized.

/11 cont./

very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121 ●

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369 x

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

17: Mercier--3 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.).

1210
361

I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369x

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more. [113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

17: Mercier--19 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

720 cont./

On the general level of our study, it did not seem indispensable to take into account the details of organization and the traditions peculiar to each ethnic group. These monographic aspects will have their place in a more complete work. The common traits are sufficiently well marked, at least as far as the systems of patrilineal and bilateral kinship are concerned, which are dominant by far in the populations represented in Dakar. 121 369x

There should be noted in passing, however, certain distinctions between: a) the groups which existed prior to the creation of the town, that is to say, in effect, the Lebou; b) the groups which, even if they are /21/ numerically important, arrived in the town in migrations which rarely involved complete kinship groups, the latter having been able later to reconstitute themselves on the spot to a variable extent.

It is necessary to recall here some general features of the African kinship organizations, in order to place better the intervening changes in certain domains (1).

1. Cf. in particular A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950.

Kinship is to a certain extent an abstract notion; it does not necessarily coincide with consanguinity, and the obligations in the order of kinship do not spring solely from the latter. These obligations, on the other hand, extend, at least in the line of dominant filiation, as far as the known limits of the kinship group; they are only more precise and more frequently actualized on the level of the closest relatives (2).

2. The limits of the group of relatives considered as close are not everywhere the same,

17: Mercier--20 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

/21-cont./

as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

121 ●
369 ×

The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion [581]

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group. [582]

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4). [604]

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595